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By-Chesler, Mark A.

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Teachers in racially desegregated classrooms often need special instruction or retraining for the peculiar academic and social problems of their students. Planning such training programs involves identifying change "targets" (persons or relations the change efforts will focus on) and choosing appropriate "strategies" or training methods. Targets include characteristic attitudes and behaviors of students, teachers' personal feelings and values about racially potent matters; new teaching practices needed to bridge the gap between intentions and behavior; teacher-peer relationships; administrative policies which can facilitate and support teacher change, and school-community relations relative to teacher and student change. Potential strategies include (1) identification of useful books, films, photographs, and recordings on interracial classroom relations; (2) laboratory training devices, particularly sensitivity training groups, role playing, skill practice exercises, and T-groups of peers in which members attempt to give and receive feedback through interpersonal analysis; (3) formation of professional responsibility teams; and (4) use of various simulation-type problem-solving exercises. School systems and educators in collaboration with community members need to consider what more positive stimuli or rewards can be offered to encourage participation in such professional growth opportunities. (JS)

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Teacher Training Designs for Improving Instruction in Interracial Classrooms

Mark A. Chesler

Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge

University of Michigan

Ann Arbor, Michigan

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Teacher Training Designs for Improving Instruction in Interracial Classrooms

Mark A. Chesler*

Perhaps the most important instructional issue facing teachers in racially desegregated classrooms is how best to improve youngsters' academic learning and social relations within this particular context. Recent evidence suggests that Negro youngsters' academic achievement scores often rise in newly desegregated situations.[1] However, it is also clear from several studies that many special barriers to academic growth are also present in these changing classrooms.[2] A newly desegregated classroom situation thrusts Negro and white youngsters alike into those threatening environs that they have been warned about or prepared for by peers, parents and media. The range of potentially threatening phenomena present in these classes may include: pressures attendant on youngsters leaving one educational environment and moving into another, and the need to adjust to new travel routes, buildings and peers; pressures generated by youngsters' own feelings of anxiety about being with persons of another race, and the need to deal somehow with a reality they have been sheltered from by the distances of geography, economy and mythology; pressures generated by transferring students' expectations that the new school will be better and more exacting.

These phenomena should not illustrate problems alone, but should highlight areas of potential growth in an interracial classroom; principally the possibility exists that through guided classroom interaction youngsters' interracial attitudes may become more positive and accepting. We speak of "guided" interaction because

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*Mark A. Chesler is a Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Appreciation is extended to Ronald Lippitt and Alan Guskin for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

[1] Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Washington, D.C., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967. Hansen, C., The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Harvard Educational Review, 1960, 30, 216-236; Stallings, F., A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools, Journal of Negro Education, 1959, 28, 439-444.

[2] Katz, I., Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes, American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399. Katzenmeyer, W., Social Interaction and Differences in Intelligence Test Performance of Negro and White Elementary School Pupils. Dissertation abstracts, 1963, 24, 1905.

it is clear that one cannot depend on "natural" contact and relational patterns to improve students' racial views, and certainly not immediately.[3] Too much of what is natural in American race relations is distrustful and separatist; desegregation itself is a departure from our natural social patterns, and other breaks with tradition are vital. Recent reports of newly desegregated classrooms verify some of the negative views or changes in views of race relations that may accompany interracial experiences. The sudden entrance of Negro students may cause white students to be unfriendly and hostile to persons they perceive to be interlopers or sources of threat. This may be especially true among white students who are themselves socially or academically insecure. Some Negro students come away from desegregated experiences with more pessimistic and/or negatively realistic views of the potentiality for racial harmony.[4] Surely there are instances of positive change as well, but to accomplish this requires great skill, energy, and patience on the part of all members of the school or classroom social system.

The teachers' responsibility for guiding and promoting positive learnings by peers in an interracial situation is very clear. In a number of ways teaching in the interracial classroom is like teaching in any other classroom; similar problems of instructional competence, diagnostic knowledge of one's students, relations with students, management of peer relations, and effective evaluation must arise.[5] The teacher who is a skilled and fully competent professional has a good start on being successful in an interracial situation. But the interracial classroom is different than other more homogeneous situations, although there is insufficient research to state boldly what and how major are these differences. The differences seem to us to be several fold:

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[3]Some of the early research in housing and summer camp situations which supports this proposition is summarized in: Selltiz, C. and Cook, S. The Effects of Personal Contact on Intergroup Relations. Theory into Practice, 1963, 2, 158-166.

[4]Some of these students' changes in Northern and Southern situations are reported in: Chesler, M. and Segal, P. Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All-White Public Schools in the Deep South. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research. Lombardi, D., Factors Affecting Change in Attitude Towards Negroes Among High School Students. Journal of Negro Education, Spring, 1963. Webster, S. The Influence of Interracial Contact on Social Acceptance in a Newly Integrated School. Journal of Ed. Psy., 1961, 52.

[5]A more detailed discussion on some of these issues appears in: Schmuck, R., Chesler, M. and Lippitt, R. Problem Solving in the Classroom, Chicago, Illinois, Science Research Associates, 1966.

1. Since the cultural heritage and reality of mutual ignorance and distance, if not antagonism and fear, between the races probably is present in the minds and views of all Americans, the teacher must wrestle with his or her own views of people of another race.[6]
2. In a similar fashion, student peer relations are likely to be constrained and affected by the same set of deeply rooted attitudes and beliefs. In addition to the students' own views, the adult culture validates and supports such peer cleavages and rejection.
3. Since few schools of education offer courses focusing on the racial aspects of education, most teachers are not prepared by their preservice experience or training for this instructional challenge.
4. There may be few professional peers who are in the same position of teaching an interracial class, and thus few colleagues with whom to share fears, hopes, tactics, successes and failures.[7]
5. There may be few available sources of special expertise relevant to the particular problems faced by teachers of the interracial classroom. Since most schools that have and will have desegregated facilities are new to these patterns, they will all be experiencing new pains without a body of tradition and experience to call upon to help handle problems.

Clearly teachers are in a position to affect,positively or negatively, the results obtained from working on these special problems. But because of their training, experience,and perhaps inclination, they will not be able to create positive outcomes without some special instruction relevant to racial relations in the classroom. In these circumstances it seems most appropriate to consider ways of helping teachers teach more successfully in interracial classroom situations. In the remainder of this paper we examine a variety of training or retraining programs that may provide

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[6]The proposition that teachers often hold and communicate low estimates of minority youngsters' abilities to these students is presented in: Niemeyer, J. Some Guidelines to Desirable Elementary School Reorganization. In Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962: Youth in the Ghetto, New York, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unl., 1964; Bloom, B., Davis, A. and Hess, R. Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation, New York N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

[7]Sharing as used here refers to more than information exchange; it also implies the establishment of a professionally helpful and reciprocal interpersonal relationship. The positions that many problems and fears are not shared, that teachers often do not exchange and critique colleagues' styles and techniques, and the importance of such sharing for professional growth and competence are discussed in: Chesler, M. and Barakat, H. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices 1: A Study of Professional Roles and Social Structures in Schools. Final Report: U.S. Office of Ed. Coop. Res. Project #2636, Ann Arbor; Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1967; Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices, II: Stimulating Adoption and Adaptation of Selected Teaching Practices. Final Report, U.S. Office of Ed. Coop. Res. Project #D-137, Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1967.

such help and we try to suggest the particular advantages and drawbacks of each device. We do not focus here on the content of "how to teach", but "how to prepare or train teachers for teaching".[8] Moreover, our concern is with designs that could be used in most school systems as they are currently organized. More radical proposals suggesting major revision of certification standards to permit the utilization of para- or non-professionals, massive decentralization of urban schools and transfer of decisions directly into the community's hands, involvement of students in making major school decisions, curriculum restructuring, time sharing with "freedom schools", and many other proposals are not discussed. Perhaps these proposals are the content of another paper; our major concern here is with teacher retraining potentialities.

Designs for Teacher Change

In this discussion of teacher retraining we focus on both the delineation of change targets and the elaboration of training methods or strategies. Targets are persons or relations representing the foci of teacher change efforts; they include forces which, when altered, could permit or induce teacher change about educational-racial matters. Strategies represent ways of proceeding to encourage, permit or create teacher change. The chart in Figure 1 presents a matrix composed of a number of potential targets and strategies, and the delineation of these marginals constitutes the discussion in this paper.

(Figure 1 here)

The design of a particular training program requires the selection of some targets and strategies and their integration into a coherent and systematic series of learning experiences. Any planned change program must as well be based upon clear and viable goals, otherwise there can be no rational or conceptually clear basis for selecting certain targets or strategies, nor for deciding upon any particular integration or mix of these elements into a meaningful design. Some appropriate goals, and examples of criteria useful in conceptualizing teacher training

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[8] There is little research, and few efforts at the derivation or retrieval of instructional practices, directly relevant to the particular problems of the interracial classroom. Several useful books that have begun these tasks include: Beck, J., and Saxe, R. (Ed) Teaching the Culturally Deprived Pupil, Springfield, Illinois, C. Thomas Co. 1965; Giles, H. The Integrated Classroom, New York, Basic Books, 1959: Noar, G. The Teacher and Integration, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1966.

Figure I

Targets and Strategies for Teacher Change in Interracial Situations

STRATEGIES	TARGETS					
	Knowledge of Students	Teachers' Own Feelings	Teaching Practices	Peer Relations	Admin-istration Relations	Community Relations
Books						
Other Materials						
Laboratory Training Groups						
Survey Feedback						
Peer Sharing Sessions						
Team Formation						
Confrontation Search						
Problem Solving Exercises						
Derivations from Behavioral Science						
External Consultations						

programs, are presented in recent papers by Lippitt[9] and Fox.[10] Lippitt suggests that practitioner attempts to articulate and confront personal goals, to identify professional role alternatives, and to create high quality cross-professional collaboration are among the most vital dilemmas facing youth socializers who wish to improve their performance. Fox suggests several more specific goals for teachers involved in in-service training programs including: opening a process of professional self-renewal; gaining skill in utilizing the resources of others; developing skill in designing and executing classroom level action-research projects; contributing to the improvement of dynamic working relationships with colleagues; and gaining skill in communicating experiences in learning to others. These embracing concerns may provide a useful framework for the reader as he examines the particular design elements discussed here.

Targets

Each of the aspects of persons or relationships discussed below can be included as the target of efforts to change teachers. Some focus on teachers very directly, others on the professional and organizational environment within which teachers function. None of these targets are mutually exclusive, and any program conceivably could include several or all at once.

Knowledge of Students. One of the necessary foci of a teacher training progrms would seem to be a clarification and explanation of the characteristic attitudes and behaviors of the youngsters in the classroom. Haubrich, for instance probably understates the problem as he points out that "there seem to be gaps in the orientation and preparation of teachers for urban schools which leaves the new teacher 'at sea' with respect to methods, curriculum and approaches to the 'discipline' problem."[11] One aspect of such knowledge might well be a review of the cultural styles or biases in the youngsters' or group of youngsters' family or background. In the attempt to

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[9] Lippitt, R. Improving the Socialization Process. In Watson (Ed) Change in School Systems. Washington, D. C., National Training Laboratories, 1967, p. 30-51.

[10] Fox, R. In-Service Education for Innovation and Change. In Rogge & Stormer In-Service Training: for Teachers of the Gifted. Champaign, Illinois, Stipes Publishing Company, 1966.

[11] Haubrich, V., Teachers for Big City Schools, In Passow (Ed) Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Columbia, 1963, p. 246-7.

fill this gap it will be critical to avoid the traps of overgeneralization and reverse stereotypy, a difficulty magnified by the scientists typical concern to make generalizable statements. Another, more contemporaneous, form of intelligence would include data regarding the attitudes and values of youngsters at present. The kind of data that are important to gather may include assessments of attitudes toward self and school, toward classmates and teacher, or a more specific focus toward racial issues.[12] Certainly reports or locally collected data on how white and Negro classmates, or future classmates, view the prospects or realities of an interracial classroom are very relevant here. Chesler and Segal, for instance, report some of the differences between Negro youngsters' and their white teachers' perceptions of the realities of classroom desegregation.[13] The reduction of such discrepancies in perception could provide many teachers with sounder bases for classroom planning.

Teachers Own Feelings. Another activity that undoubtedly is a necessary component of plans for teacher change is a self-examination of each individual's personal feelings and values about racially potent matters. The persons, white or Negro, who teach in public or private school classrooms are all part of the American Society; a society which has been built and is maintained upon racially separate living, working and schooling patterns. As such teachers can be expected to hold many of the same feelings about racial separatism and mutual fear or resentments as do most Americans. Moreover, we can expect that these views in one way or another affect the kinds of alternatives these teachers are able to invent or modify for use in the classroom. Haubrich notes reports of prospective teachers' desires to be located in a good school, where students are like themselves.[14] In addition, Foley discusses the negative expectations many teachers hold of disadvantaged or minority group youngsters, and speculates upon the development of a self-fulfilling prophecy.[15]

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[12] For a broad range of examples of variables and instruments classroom teachers may find useful in this regard see: Fox, R., Luszki, M. and Schmuck, R. Diagnosing Classroom Learning Environments. Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

[13] Chesler and Segal, op.cit.

[14] Haubrich, op.cit.

[15] Foley, W. Teaching Disadvantaged Pupils. In J. Beck and R. Saxe, op.cit. pp. 89-108. See also sources noted in footnote 5, above, and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools.

The teacher who expects the worst often may create it by his own fear or lack of enthusiasm. The student senses this feeling and is not motivated to exceed or exert himself. Having found the worst, the teachers' expectations thus are confirmed.

For some teachers these views are held consciously and are close to the surface: for others these feelings are submerged deeply and seldom recognized. Serious examination may not lead to changed views, but it may help teachers to understand the potential effects of their views in the classroom and may also help them to control their expression.[16]

Teaching Practices. Many educators and designers of educational change efforts take it for granted that more adequate knowledge of oneself, one's role, and one's youngsters will lead directly to improved classroom practice. But there are many teachers who fail to bridge the gap between increased knowledge or new intentions and new behavior. For them, the gap may be caused by lack of motivation, lack of skill, or perhaps other barriers present in the school system. We do not wish to suggest that teachers need a detailed cookbook for classroom use, but some specific focus upon the development of teaching procedures and concrete and feasible suggestions are needed in any training program. It is a highly developed skill to translate theoretical propositions, research findings, or new insights about oneself into behavioral implications relevant for the classroom, and these skills are not found readily in most teachers.[17] Moreover, changes in teaching are not merely mechanical, they typically require the change of complex behavioral patterns and the examination and alteration of values as well. The problems of deciding to teach differently and actually teaching in new ways are by no means simple.

Peer Relations. Another aspect of individuals' personal attitudes or skills that can be the focus of change efforts is their relationships with professional peers. Many teachers who generate exciting ideas for use in their own classroom never have the opportunity to share these ideas with their peers. Without this

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[16] Coles reports ways in which southern white teachers wrestled with the control of their anti-desegregation views in order to fulfill their professional educational commitments to equal educational treatment. Coles, R. The Desegregation of Southern Schools, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council and Anti-Defamation League, 1963.

[17] This position is amplified, and remedial suggestions offered in: Jung, C. and Lippitt, R. The Study of Change as a Concept in Research Utilization. Theory into Practice, 1966, 5, 25-29.

opportunity for sharing, and without the possibility of giving or receiving feedback, the potential resources and assistance of peers may be lost. In fact, as Chesler and Fox point out:[18]

> Peers and friends help in many ways to define the situation for the individual. They define possible and permissible personal and organizational behavior and provide social rewards and punishments. In addition, colleagues' positive reactions help the individual to perceive himself as a respected and valued professional....thus, such a setup fosters a continuing cycle of change and support, invention and sharing of ideas.

Collaborative work on school committees and associations, or more informal networks of social and travel arrangements all appear to be related positively to a willingness to be public about new classroom ideas. The organized efforts of teachers to be helpful to one another in the advancement of each others' professional competence may indeed require new styles of bureaucratic management and structure. Instead of each school being provided with an educational leader in the person of the principal, we may need to explore more decentralized and plural forms of initiative and responsibility.

Administrative Relation. The character of the school administration is clearly another potential target for change activities relevant to improving classroom racial relations. Principals and superintendents of schools obviously can play key roles in facilitating and supporting teacher change. Administrators can help by providing extra resources to relieve teachers from some daily routines and to provide funds and support for such training programs as we are discussing here. Moreover, they can help set a systemic atmosphere that encourages teachers to get extra training and generates institutional support for their later efforts to try out new things with their youngsters in classrooms and with peers in informal discussions. It is clearly not enough that principals feel a certain way about these matters; for teachers who are constantly attuned to the nuances of administrator reward or punishment it is important that supervisors publicly and obviously demonstrate their concerns.[19] The tone set by administrators influences not only teachers;

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[18] Chesler, M. and Fox, R. Teacher Peer Relations and Educational Change, National Educational Association Journal, 1967, 56, 25-26.

[19] Chesler, M., Schmuck, R., Lippitt, R. The Principal's Role in Facilitating Innvation. Theory Into Practice, 1963, 2, 269-276.

students also behave in response to certain administrative cues and leads. For instance, consider these Negro youngsters' reports from newly desegregated schools in the deep south.[20]

> The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have any friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.
>
> The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the changes in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Clearly the principal can act as a model for teachers and students to follow in their own efforts to decide how to behave in new and threatening circumstances.

Community Relations. A final focus for change efforts is the community within which the particular school or school system operates. Perhaps a more delimited aspect of this topic, one that is more manageable within the context of this report, is school-community relations. In understanding and modifying youngsters' classroom behavior, teachers need to consider how youngsters can change apart from related change in their social surroundings: If new peer relations are explored and created in class but not realized in extra-classroom situations, the resultant discrepancy may be painful for everyone involved. Some students will not be able to experiment with new classroom behavior because of parentally induced restraints, inhibitions or admonitions. Moreover, teachers who attempt classroom changes may have to deal with resistance and opposition from their own family and social community. Several creative teachers and administrators have reported experiences with community villification as a result of their efforts to better intergroup relations in and out of class.

Many educational administrators try to preserve their own autonomy by keeping the community ignorant about what they are doing in the schools. One result of

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[20] Chesler, M., In Their Own Words, Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1967, p. 6-7.

this posture is that both the community and the school system are systematically deprived of mutual resources and potential help. Parent-teachers organizations represent one easily accessible institution that might constitute a forum within which to discuss issues relevant to school change and within which to build support for new ideas and programs. Various other community organizations and leaders could be focussed upon as targets facilitative to the success of change programs. The major problem seems to us to be one of enabling the school system to see community agents as collaborators and potential helpers instead of perennial enemies.

Many of these targets have been reported by teachers as forces that act as barriers to their own personal and professional invention and growth efforts. A partial range of these barriers experienced and reported by one group of teachers is summarized in Figure 2.

(Figure 2 here)

Clearly these barriers can and should be reduced and/or converted into forces that can facilitate professional growth and classroom and school change. How to accomplish this is the concern of the next section of this paper, wherein we review a number of strategies for teacher retraining.

Strategies

The illustrative list of strategies included here does not presume to exhaust either the actual or potential range of current retraining methods. Moreover, as noted with regard to the targets above, there is no reason why several varied strategies cannot be combined or used in sequence in any particular change program.

Books. Perhaps the single most traditional strategy relied upon for increasing educators' skills has been to supply them with new written materials. Every year staffs are virtually inundated with books expounding every conceivable type of message, including several especially devoted to almost any curricular or population concern. To date, there have been few that have explicitly focussed on interracial relations in the classroom. Among the most relevant works we would include the pioneering volume by Giles, and more recent briefer efforts by Noar, Bash and Weinberg.[21] Among the tremendous variety of recent works on disadvantaged

[21] Giles, op.cit; Noar, op.cit; Bash, J. Effective Teaching in the Desegregated School, Bloomington, Indiana, Phi. Delta Kappa, 1966; Weinberg, M. Research on School Desegregation, Chicago, Integrated Education Associates, 1965.

FIGURE 2

TEACHER-REPORTED BARRIERS TO EFFECTIVE SHARING OF DESEGREGATION PLANS[22]

Within Oneself

_____ I lack conviction about the need or value of desegregation
_____ I lack knowledge or background about Negroes, the community, or the decision to transfer students
_____ I have high and/or inflexible standards for classroom performance and expect that Negroes won't meet these
_____ I am a young teacher and therefore am reluctant to tell older teachers what to do; or I feel as an older teacher that young teachers hesitate to suggest their plans to me
_____ I lack confidence about what I am doing in class and fear incompetence in knowing answers
_____ I resent the extra energy required to go to planning meetings, to share with colleagues, etc.

Within Others

_____ Some of my colleagues will criticize my leadership
_____ Some of my colleagues don't recognize the problems
_____ Some of my colleagues want to be left alone; they feel the proper role of a professionally trained teacher is one of self-sufficiency
_____ Some of my colleagues are prejudiced
_____ Some of my colleagues resent extra time required to to meetings or share with colleagues
_____ Some of my colleagues express resistance in ways I do not know how to handle

Within the Administration

_____ The policy about school desegregation isn't clear
_____ Policy about my role as influencers or staff leaders isn't clear
_____ There is a lack of strong support for a staff sharing program
_____ There is a lack of direction for change efforts; someone should tell us what to do and how to do it
_____ There is a lack of support for teacher initiative in the classroom or with colleagues
_____ There is a lack of money for extra time, school meetings, etc.

In the Community

_____ There is a great gap between the school and most of the community with regard to standards for education, values about desegregation, etc.
_____ White parents resist desegregation
_____ Negro parents resist desegregation
_____ The resistance of parents to bussing needs to be met and faced by the administration's justification and legitimation of what we're doing as a school and as teachers
_____ Social class differences introduce misunderstandings and more barriers
_____ There is much prejudice in the community

[22]This list was originally created and reported in: Chesler, M. & Wissman, M. Teacher Reactions to School Desegregation Preparations & Processes: A Case Study, Ann Arbor, 1967 (Mimeo).

or deprived youngsters, the Beck and Saxe volume seems to be particularly useful to teachers.[23] Although this work does not omit theoretical issues, the editors have selected a series of fairly pragmatic and concrete articles. Noar's work deals with many classroom problems realistically, but fails to provide any conceptual or operative scheme that would take the teacher beyond these examples to future efforts on his own. Bash seems to underplay consistently some of the real problems in youngsters' peer relations in desegregated classrooms and depends too highly on teacher good will to resolve most personal and instructional issues. Weinberg's excellent review of research and documentary reports only minimally focuses on classroom management aids. While not explicitly focussed on interracial matters,some of our own work may be helpful to orienting teachers to more useful ways of viewing and managing the classroom.[24] But almost all books are just that, books. They are verbal distillations and abstractions of experience that are rarely provocative and not necessarily generative of change efforts. There is no clear evidence that such stimuli can, in any serious way, help create instructional change. The best we can hope for is to use such works as reference works in a more provocative program, or as jumping-off points for other strategies.

Other Materials. Another variant in the general category of material resources for retraining teachers is the use of films, photographs or recordings. One of the greatest dangers in utilizing such materials, as well as books, is the temptation to let them speak for themselves. Material resources do not and can not stand alone; they should be accompanied by some kind of discussion or practice. Such resources must be seen and used as tools by teachers and discussion leaders and not revered as the reverse; they also should become part of a comprehensive training program and not used simply as additive material or separate experiences. Used in these ways audio-visual materials can broaden communication and learning by including the more immediate senses of feeling, seeing and hearing in the presentation and consideration of findings or phenomena. An interesting series of mixed media packages that attempt this approach currently is being prepared and published by the Addison-

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[23] Beck and Saxe, op.cit.

[24] Schmuck, Chesler and Lippitt, op.cit; Chesler, M. & Fox, R. Role Playing in the Classroom. Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

Wesley Publishing Co.[25] The entire cluster of units containing recorded and printed materials which focus on the problems of youth are designed to stimulate discussion around critical questions, to disseminate innovative practitioner efforts, and to present research findings, theories, and practices. The units also provide skill training exercises designed to enable teachers and discussion leaders who are listening and watching to personally adapt the materials to their particular situations and concerns. Once again we are describing materials that do not focus explicitly upon interracial interaction, but materials that could engender a more sophisticated understanding of youth processes in general. Moreover, with this ground broken, packages of a similar nature that do focus on teaching in desegregated classrooms could be developed.

Laboratory Training. A third strategy for teacher change is the use of laboratory training devices, particularly sensitivity training groups. "T" groups come in all shapes and forms, with a variety of foci ranging from a concentration on intrapersonal or interpersonal dynamics thru priority concerns with task or skill-centered learning and organizational development. What seems common in all such groups is the members' attempt to give and receive feedback with peers and to consider making changes in their own interpersonal styles through an analysis of what they feel and see is occurring in their small group.[26] The hope with this technique is that sufficient interpersonal trust can be developed so that persons can be honest and open about their racial views. Such openness is probably a precondition for testing one's views with others', getting feedback and clarification, and trying out new behavior. Most reports of the design and use of such methods in

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[25] The World of the Troubled Youth, Reading, Mass. Addison-Wesley. Some component units in this series include The Vicious Cycle, 1966; The In-Betweeners, 1967; The Latchkey Child, (In preparation); The Deciders (In preparation); Bridging the Generations (In preparation).

[26] More elaborate discussions of the theory and practice of laboratory learning methods and sensitivity training groups can be found in: Bradford, L., Gibb, J., and Benne, K. (Ed) T-Group Theory and Laboratory Method New York, Wiley, 1964: Schein, E and Bennis, W. Personal and Organizational Change Through Group Methods: The Laboratory Approach, New York, Wiley, 1965.

the retraining of school teachers and administrators are documentary commentaries, and little well designed research is available. The general lack of available research, especially when coupled with the zeal and fervor sometimes articulated by laboratory participants, has led some observers to doubt the method's utility. But research is being developed and, in fact, Rubin reports one instance of the use of sensitivity and human relations training groups to increase racial insight and reduce racial prejudice among adults.[27]

Most adherents of laboratory training now go beyond the use of the sensitivity training group as the sole device in a re-education program. Role playing and skill practice exercises are among those techniques also used in a more comprehensive effort to help people achieve change. In role playing a dramatic situation is created which closely reflects a portion of reality. Under the protection of playing out an "artificial" drama, players can take risks in exposing themselves or experimenting with new behaviors that would ordinarily be quite threatening. When these experiences are discussed later, efforts can be made to transfer learning from this dramatic representation of life to actual situations. Skill practice exercises also utilize a deliberately structured situation and a norm of experimentation to support the learning and trying out of new behaviors. Practice in the interpersonal skills of giving and receiving feedback, of value clarification, of conflict resolution, and of listening intently to others' messages are examples relevant to improved teaching. Ellis and Burke report their success in using such techniques to help prepare teachers for the move toward interracial faculties in schools.[28] Such preparation for more successful faculty interaction could have positive implications for more supportive peer relations and professional sharing.

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[27] Rubin, I. The Reduction of Prejudice Through Laboratory Training. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1967, 3, 29-51. A pair of excellent reports discussing and annotating research in the general area of human relations training is: Harrison, R. Problems in the Design and Interpretation of Research on Human Relations Training, and Durham, L., Gibb, J., & Knowles, E. A bibliography of research. Explorations in Human Relations Training & Research, 1967, #1. Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories.

[28] Ellis, B. & Burke, W. A Design for Training Discussion Leaders. National Training Laboratory Training News 1967, 11, 1-3.

Survey Feedback. Another strategy that has been used successfully in a variety of change programs is the feedback of survey results. Essentially this strategy involves the collection of data about the performance or processes of a client or client system, and then the feeding back of that data, with interpretations, into the client system. Under appropriate conditions the assumption is that persons who can now see their own performance data may be able to make changes in a direction more fulfilling and satisfying for them. This method most often has taken the form of scientists' collecting data and sharing findings with practitioners. Survey feedback techniques have been utilized extensively with industrial and educational organizations,[29] and there are also several reports of its utility in retraining classroom teachers.[30] As with some of the other change strategies examined here, there are several reports of programs and events but relatively little well designed research or evidence that shows whether change has occurred, or how these feedback programs may have contributed to that change.

Peer Sharing. The establishment of opportunities for productive professional sharing of views and practices may also encourage teacher change. By sharing we mean more than mere information exchange: although teachers often talk together they seldom make use of those conversations to focus on the development of one's professional skill and expertise.[31] The traditional notion that a teacher is and should be a fully autonomous professional raises the personal risk involved in asking a peer or supervisor for help. Moreover, this conception of the teacher's role also operates to inhibit some teachers from sharing their ideas with others

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[29] See especially: Mann, F. Studying and Creating Change. In Benne, Bennis and Chin (Ed) The Planning of Change, N.Y., Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1962, pp. 605-615: Miles, M., Calder, P., Hornstein, H., Callahan, D., & Schiavo, S. Data Feedback and Organizational Change in a School System. Paper presented at meetings of the American Sociological Association, 1966: Neff, F. Survey research: A Tool for Problem Diagnosis and Improvement in Organizations. In Gouldner & Miller (Ed) Applied Sociology, Opportunities and Problems. N.Y. Free Press, 1965, p. 23-38.

[30] Flanders, N. Helping Teachers Change Their Behavior, Ann Arbor, Michigan, School of Education, 1965. Gage, N., Runkel, P., and Chatterjee, B. Changing Teacher Behavior Through Feedback from Pupils: an application of equilibrium theory. In Charters and Gage (Ed) Readings in the Social Psychology of Education. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1963, pp. 173-181.

[31] Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. op.cit. Although the entire report provides several examples see especially Chapter 7. Another example of sharing between schools or school systems is reported by: Shepard, S. and Hunnicut, C., Institute on Urban Elementary School Desegregation (Summary Report) Syracuse, Syracuse Univeristy, 1966.

lest they appear arrogant and ommiscient rather than helpful or curious. These barriers to sharing, and those already presented in Figure 2, may be reduced under the dual conditions of high priority for professional growth and high trust in colleagues. These conditions are most likely to be generated when school administrators themselves place a high priority on professional growth and can communicate a respect for peer resources and expertise. A program to encourage teacher sharing can probably best be built upon: (1) the establishment or articulation and recognition by peers or authorities of a superordinate "need to know" what others are doing, a need to fill the gaps in common ignorance; (2) the creation of a climate of interpersonal intimacy and trust among colleagues whereby difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment; (3) the reorientation of our conception of professional role relations to include an element of teacher as learner and colleagues as partners in a learning process.

The greatest amount of teacher innovation and adoption seems to occur in schools that also provide opportunities for peer professional exchange, the enhancement of feelings of involvement and influence in school policy-making, and support from teachers' peer groups and principals. These support systems greatly facilitate the sharing of ideas with colleagues, and teachers who learn about new practices under these conditions are more likely actually to adapt or to adopt them for use in their own classroom.[32] In sum, it is clear that teachers do have significant expertise in how to teach, often far more than administrators or scientists credit them with. The failure to capitalize on such resources constitutes a waste of key educational resources as well as a further diminution of teachers' perceived competence and esteem.

Team Formation. A corollary to the encouragement of peer sharing processes is the formation of small groups or teams of peers that have some formal professional responsibility. Research from a number of industrial and governmental settings stresses the relevance of such groupings for feelings of social cohesiveness, for a sense of adequacy of performance and for satisfaction with one's work.[33] In educational systems these teams can work together to help deal with important school organizational as well as classroom instructional issues. For instance, teams of teachers can plan parent-school meetings, can represent a staff to the superintendent's

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[32] Chesler and Barakat, op.cit.

[33] This literature is reviewed and conceptualized quite clearly in: Katz, D. & Kahn, R., The Social Psychology of Organizations, New York, Wiley, 1966: Likert, R. New Patterns of Management, New York, McGraw Hill, 1961.

office, can encourage meaningful professional association or unionization; they can also plan and support the kinds of peer sharing sessions discussed above. Some of the most relevant personal skills that could be included in a training program to help facilitate teacher planning in this regard include: (1) helping a peer identify a classroom problem, (2) diagnosing organizational needs, and (3) establishing colleague and principal support for change. Clearly these skills can be taught; with such expertise at hand school administrators may be influenced to provide the opportunity for their practice in new forms of school organization.

Confrontation Search. Some organizational change experts suggest starting a renewal or change process with a "confrontation-search" design. Essentially what is required is that some presentation be made of a dilemma or serious problem; this presentation needs to be as real or engaging as possible. Then participants are provided with a range of resource materials potentially applicable to an elaboration, investigation and/or resolution of the confrontation. The individual or collective search through such materials reflects and defines the direction of members' major interests. One example of such confrontation materials for use with teachers might include tape recordings and reports of comments made by Negro and white students describing exactly what it is like to attend a newly desegregated classroom.[34] Search resource materials for teachers faced with this confrontation might include colleagues who have had such experiences, a compendia of potentially useful classroom practices, social science reports, parents and community leaders and perhaps youngsters themselves.

Problem Solving Exercises. One particularly useful strategy for retraining classroom teachers which may grow out of such a search focuses upon the use of personal or organizational systems of problem solving. Schmuck, Chesler and Lippitt list a 5 phase problem solving process as: (1) identifying classroom problems; (2) diagnosing classroom problems; (3) developing a plan; (4) taking action and; (5) feedback and evaluation.[35] This empirical-rational approach places a premium upon

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[34] Chesler, M. In Their Own Words, Atlanta, Georgia, Southern Regional Council, 1967. A similar resource used in college classes involved a series of brief essays written by white and Negro collegians about their feelings toward people of another race: Chesler, M. (Ed) How Do You Negroes Feel About Whites and How Do You Whites Feel About Negroes. Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, 1966.

[35] op.cit.

step by step analyses of contemporary states of affairs preliminary to action-taking. For teachers who often operate on purely intuitive or traditionally authoritative grounds there is every possibility that classroom teaching can be dramatically improved through the learning of this self-training methodology. A similar model for use with members of an entire school system has been suggested by Jung, Fox and Lippitt.[36] The major hope of most of these problem solving strategies is that once skills of this sort have been taught, teachers or administrators can continue to apply them to new situations.

Derivations from Behavioral Science. A variant of the problem solving process has recently been proposed by scientists concerned with ways in which behavioral science knowledge and methods can be utilized to improve social practice. A focus on the process by which practical suggestions can be derived from research findings has been suggested by Jung and Lippitt. These authors stress the fact that: "Research findings seldom provide direct answers about what the educator should do in dealing with a problem."[37] Teachers have to go beyond the data or empirical generalizations to derive implications relevant to their own classroom. In the particular context with which we are concerned, a potentially useful research finding might be: persons from divergent ethnic or task groupings may be able to collaborate if a situation encourages them to commit themselves to superordinate goals that are of a higher priority than personal goals or fears.[38] The problems of deriving classroom practices from this finding include specifying what such terms mean for the classroom, and then devising instructional programs that operationalize such terms. For instance, what are some naturally diverse goals or group formations in the classroom? What could be a superordinate goal? A class that decides to take communal responsibility for raising funds for a war orphan might so commit every person to this work that other problems in social interaction could become secondary.

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[36] Jung, C., Fox, R., and Lippitt, R. An orientation and strategy for working on problems of change in school systems. In Watson (Ed) Change in School Systems Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories, 1967, pp. 89-106. See also: Watson, G. Toward a Conceptual Architecture of a Self-Renewing School System. In Watson, op.cit. p. 106-115: and Schaevitz, M. School System Personnel as Scientific Inquiries. Ann Arbor, mimeo, 1967.

[37] op.cit. p.26-7

[38] Just such a finding results from several experiments with adolescent social organizations reported in: Sherif, M. In Common Predicament, Boston, Houghton-Mufflin, 1966; Sherif, M. Harvey, O.J., White, B., Hood, W. and Sherif, C. Intergroup Conflict & Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment. Norman, Okla., Univeristy of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

Boys and girls, rival club members, Negroes and whites, and students and teachers, may all be able to foreswear inter-group bickering and distance in their attempt to attain this embracing goal. In the process of this work they may also learn some lessons about the possibility of true collaboration that might affect other elements of classroom life.

It undoubtedly would be useful if scientists were able to present a list of educational and social scientific findings considered relevant for the interracial classroom.[39] But even is this were done it would only be the first step in the derivation process. School people would then need to specify and program these findings to create classroom strategies. Most appropriately, these alternative strategies should be clarified again with the scientist in order to check the accuracy of their derivation from the original findings or conceptual model. It is possible to begin this derivation process from the practitioners' point of view as well. In this variant a teacher may identify a problem and articulate some needs for knowledge relevant to these problems. When the scientist brings his expertise to bear these inquiry areas the derivation of action alternatives can begin again. In this case this strategy of educational change clearly requires the development of a new collaborative form, a new marriage, between scientists and practitioners.

External Consultations. In any of these above strategies it is possible to emply an external consultant to help deal with the problems attendant upon racial change in the schools. Unfortunately, many school system leaders request such temporary and external agents to solve their problems. Most of the time this is an impossible task obvious even to the most casual observer, but needs to help and to be helped may be so great as to overcome such rational considerations. If we are committed to a person's or a system's continuing ability to grow and develop, the consultation process must include teaching clients wyas of solving their own problems.[40] This clearly cannot be accomplished by a quick meal of all the "right"

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[39] A good start of a list dealing with classrooms in general has been prepared by: Schmuck, R. Some Generalizations from Research on the Socialization of Youth. Philadelphia, Temple University, 1966.

[40] Reports relevant to problems incurred in such efforts include: Lippitt, G. A Study of the Consultation Process. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 10, 43-50; Lippitt, R. Dimensions of the Consultant's Job. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 10, 5-12; Gouldner, A. Engineering and Clinical Approaches to Consulting. In Benne, Bennis and Chin (Ed) The Planning of Change, N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961; Chesler, M. and Flanders, M. Resistance to Research and Research Utilization. Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1967 (In Press).

answers, even if such a menu were available. Perhaps a helpful activity in this regard might involve a short course for educational practitioners on "how to use a consultant." This critical intelligence might assist school systems to build such key external resources into their ongoing strategies for educational change in more meaningful ways. One particularly useful way to employ consultant expertise could focus on the more refined or precise design of teacher training programs such as those discussed here. If a panel of consultants from various institutions or disciplines could be collected they might bring a very rich and varied set of resources to bear on the critical problems of designing teacher learning and re-learning experiences.

Some Concluding Design Problems and Recommendations

Many of the educational change strategies described in this paper have been tried and reported without benefit of clear research on their actual effects. Moreover, some of the particular combinations of possible targets and strategies may not even have been tried. While we are personally deeply committed to serious and long-range research and evaluation efforts, it is clear that the problems of racial change and improved educational management can not wait for such results. School people, must, on the basis of the best intelligence they can muster, make this leap to action partly on the basis of faith. There are, however, several ways to provide expertise or good guesses about workable programs that rely neither upon well validated research nor upon faith alone. First, most documentary or descriptive reports typically include some subjective evaluation of their efforts which can be helpful in designing modifications of their approach. Beyond this examination of careful documentation efforts a school system can plan change efforts on the basis of well-constructed and considered theoretical or conceptual models of teaching, of race relations, or of educational change. Probably the most attractive and often overlooked possibility would involve a schools system's investment in a pilot project and in an attempt to collect extensive feedback or evaluative data on this effort. These data can then be analyzed, shared with participants, and used as guides to further planning and program refinement.

A number of the strategies we have discussed have not been tried with specifically interracial populations or concerns. That they have not is in part testimony to the reluctance with which even forward looking educators have attempted to deal with matters of race relations in the schools. But those principles and strategies which have facilitated various forms of school and teacher change should be quite

relevant with this particular racial focus as well. Although some problems will probably take on a peculiar hue, and some new priorities and problems will undoubtedly arise, the fact that we are dealing with interracial issues should not mitigate seriously the value of good designs for educational change.

It has been mentioned earlier, and should be stressed, that neither list of targets or strategies is mutually exclusive; in fact the most effective retraining designs may include multiple targets and strategies. Just to take the first target as an example; a teacher's knowledge about youngsters can be improved by reading, by receiving survey data on his own class, by engaging in research retrieval activities, or by talking with other teachers working with similar students. Given teachers' probable resistance to admitting publicly his own negative or positive views of racial matters, the second target - a teacher's own views - may be best dealt with through laboratory training or survey feedback strategies; books, other teachers and consultants may not be particularly helpful in this instance. Of course any particular mix or design utilized by a school system will need to be a unique blend of targets and strategies that best meets this system's special characteristics and goals. The selection and combination of particular design elements is a crucially important task and one which also requires a high degree of skill and experience. It might be well for any school system starting out in these directions to experiment with a variety of designs and a variety of ways of creating designs. As noted earlier, the creation of a program is one task for which an external consultant's expertise may be especially important and useful.

Another important feature of the designs and strategies discussed here is their implicit reliance upon long term involvement. Some of these designs have been tried in one-day, two-day, one-week or one-month programs. Clearly the longer programs permit more extended inquiry and practice, but they are not always feasible within the normal operating and financial conditions that predominate in schools. Regardless of the specific length of programs, one-shot efforts and isolated training institutes have very little chance of enabling changed attitudes and roles, or the best of new intentions and desires, to be translated into new classroom behaviors or new organizational forms. Teachers who are attempting change need the continuing support that can be provided by a series of meetings and a total system commitment to change efforts. The necessity for such commitment raises the problem of how best to recruit the involvement of teachers and systems. Clearly it is unsatisfactory to wait for riots or student-community protests before developing new

programs; school systems need to consider what more positive stimuli or rewards can be offered to encourage participation in such professional growth opportunities.

Finally, all of the designs outlined here can be implemented within the context of the contemporary educational establishment. No proposal here refers to a basic restructuring or destructuring of school systems as they are presently constituted. There is every reason to believe that community members and educators of various persuasions can collaborate somewhere within this context; however, there is no reason to assume that this framework should limit our imagination. To go beyond this context is to reduce the possibility of collaboration, perhaps even of collaborative conflict; it also reduces the amount of control teachers and administrators are likely to have over the change process. But none of this seems to us necessarily to be bad; it does not mean positive and productive change cannot happen when it is neither designed nor controlled by professional educators. It does seem quite clear that unless energetic and committed attention is paid to experimenting with, refining and successfully utilizing designs of the sort noted here, the press of the changing world around the schools will move us rapidly to what will be for most educators more threatening, more disturbing and less palatable alternatives.